British and Canadian Missionaries and the March 1st 1919 Movement.

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The March 1st 1919 Movement for Korean independence was one of the most significant and dramatic protests against Japanese colonial rule in the peninsula. Korean Christians together with Ch'ŏndokyo (the religion of the Tonghak) believers played a leading role in the planning of the demonstration in Seoul on March 1st 1919, during which a Declaration of Independence was read, and in the subsequent independence demonstrations throughout Korea.[1] The participation of Christians in the March 1st Movement helped identify closely Christianity with Korean nationalism and Korean aspirations for independence.[2] However, the failure of the non-violent March 1st Movement to obtain independence led some young Koreans, previously influenced by Christianity, to turn to socialism and armed struggle in order to gain their country's freedom.[3] The March lst Movement served to reveal the limitations of Christianity in providing a practical means to bring about the termination of Japanese colonial rule. This was important, for although foreign missionaries propagated Christianity in terms of its Christian message, the attraction of the religion for many Koreans was at least partially based on an unfounded hope that Christianity could help make Korea free.

Protestant missionaries played an important ancillary role in the March 1st Movement by publicizing in the international press accounts of atrocities committed by the Japanese in suppressing the Movement.[4] However, while the Japanese press in its first reaction

to the independence demonstrations in Korea accused American missionaries, who were characterized as agents of American imperialism, of agitating Korean Christians to rebel, there is no evidence to suggest that missionaries played any part in organizing the independence movement.[5] Nonetheless, the influence of missionary accounts of the March 1st Movement on public opinion, though not on governmental foreign policy, about Japan in North America and Britain should not be under-estimated. Yet, while all missionaries were sympathetic to Koreans, they were by no means uniform either in supporting Korean independence or condemning Japanese colonial policies. This brief survey investigates the different and contrasting attitudes of British Anglican and Canadian Presbyterian missionaries to the March 1st Movement and to Japanese colonial policies. Canadian Presbyterian missionaries were prominent in criticizing the Japanese. On the other hand, British Anglican missionaries tended to be more sympathetic to the Japanese Government-General. These differences are explicable in terms of the different social and denominational background of missionaries as well as in the aims of their mission work in Korea.

The English Church Mission, the name given to the British Anglican mission in Korea, was founded in 1889 to undertake evangelical and medical work in the peninsula. The English Church Mission was associated with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) which also supported missions in Japan. Although they did not take a vow of chastity, the British Anglican missionaries in Korea, apart from medical missionaries, were celibate. The majority of clerical missionaries came from upper-middle class backgrounds and were public school educated and graduates of Oxford or Cambridge Universities. The SPG considered that the public school and university "combined to produce the gentleman-a personality compounded of classical learning, disciplined character, love of exercise, and dedication to the service of humanity-who was their ideal missionary".[6] In this respect the clerical missionaries of the English Church Mission in Korea came very close to the ideal.

The English Church Mission was always a very small mission, never having more than fifteen British clerical missionaries attached to it and often existing with as few as three or four. As a result of its smallness the English Church Mission restricted its missionary work to Seoul and its vicinity as far south as Suwon and to an outpost in Pusan. Its headquarters and Cathedral, begun in 1925, was situated in Seoul next to the British Consulate. While some missionaries did occupy pastoral charges outside Seoul, it was hoped that most clerical missionaries could live as a free community of celibate men on the lines of a senior common room of an Oxford or Cambridge college in the Cathedral compound. Evangelistic work was to be undertaken through itinerary tours from the Cathedral centre. In a sense the English Church Mission was as much for the deepening of the spiritual experience of the missionary as it was for converting the heathen. Any convert became a member of a very select and selective group. The Christian work of the English Church Mission was not restricted to Koreans only but also included work among English and Japanese residents in Korea. In its work among the Japanese, the English Church Mission was helped by Japanese-speaking British missionaries and Japanese workers from the SPG diocese of South Tokyo in Japan. The English Church Mission was the only Protestant mission in Korea to treat English residents, Koreans and Japanese as equals within the same Church. This was a most important difference between the English Church Mission and the Canadian Presbyterian mission, which was restricted to Koreans only. The aim of the British Anglicans was to create a spiritually strong Church in Korea. The numbers or the nationality of Church members were not important to the achievement of this aim. Indeed the English Church Mission did not have enough missionaries to create a large Anglican Church in Korea.

The first Canadian missionaries to Korea were sponsored by students of the University of Toronto through their university YMCAs. The first of them, James Scarth Gale, arrived in Korea in 1888 and was shortly followed by three others.[7] As the student YMCAs did

not have the resources to support missionaries permanently, these first Canadian missionaries soon attached themselves to American mission already operating in the peninsula. It was not until 1898 that the first three Canadian Presbyterian missionaries, sent out under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, began work in Korea. The Canadian Presbyterian mission was envisaged as an evangelical and medical mission. Like the British Anglicans, the Canadian Presbyterians did not have the financial resources to enter into educational work beyond some small elementary schools. Unlike the English Church Mission, however, the Canadian Presbyterians believed in co-operating with other Protestant missions in Korea. In consultation with the other Presbyterian missions working in the peninsula, it was decided that the Canadian Presbyterians should take responsibility for an area along the east coast of Korea from a point midway between Wonsan and Pusan in the south stretching some 500 miles north to Vladivostok and at points running inland as much as 50 miles. In 1910 work was extended into the Kando or Chientao region of Manchuria adjoining north-east Korea. Co-operation with other missions not only encompassed Christian work in Korea itself but also missionary policy and strategy through interdenominational bodies such as the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ's Committee on Relations with the Orient, which was based in New York. This latter organization allowed the North American Churches with missions in Korea to speak with a united voice on all issues which might concern the Christian movement in the peninsula.

It was during the period of the Residency-General (1905—1910) that the Christian movement in Korea achieved its greatest success. In 1907 a great Christian revival, which lasted for three years, began in Pyongyang and spread throughout Korea. As a result of this great revival by 1910 the Christian Church in Korea had about 200,000 nominal adherents. Korea as a mission field not only outstripped Japan in numbers of converts but also came to be regarded by foreign missionaries as having great potentiality for future expansion.[8] At the

same time it was clear that the Christian revival of 1907 was not only the result of a spiritual awakening but also had come about owing to the uncertain social and political situation in Korea after the Russo-Japanese War. The uncertainty of the political situation at least came to an end with the Japanese annexation in 1910. In this new situation the Christian Church remained a link with the free Korea before Japanese colonialism.[9]

Open foreign opposition to the Japanese during the Residency-General came from journalists, of whom the most famous was E. T. Bethell, rather than from missionaries.[10] The attitude of Protestant missionaries to the annexation in 1910 was largely either indifference or a recognition of the fact that it was wrong and useless to oppose Japanese rule.[11] The prevailing British missionary view was put forward in 1911 by Bishop H. H. Montgomery, the Secretary of the SPG in London, who stated that "it is absurd to suppose that they (the Koreans) can stand alone. China never helped them : Russia is hardly the power to do anything but exploit them. Japan is best for them".[12] The colonization of Korea was accepted as being inevitable. Missionaries both in Japan and Korea were sympathetic to the Koreans, Bishop Cecil Boutflower of the SPG diocese of South Tokyo in Japan wrote "poor Korea : it's very bitter for them : though in material things it was their only chance as far as one can see. How Japan will behave in administration depends on how much she feels the world's eye on her".[13] Japanese rule, however, was equated with the modernization of Korea.

Few missionaries in Korea could be described as Japanophiles. In 1911 Bishop Montgomery noted that "without a doubt also, every foreign missionary, almost without exception, is violently pro-Korean, and violently anti-Japanese, and this must be a source of embarrassment to the Japanese. It does not help good government". The English Church Mission held the opinion that Christianity was the only link which could bring Koreans and Japanese together and enable them to understand one another and live in peace.[15] As a result the personal feelings of missionaries toward the Japanese could not be

allowed to prevent Christianity from bringing Koreans and Japanese together. Mark Napier Trollope, who became Anglican Bishop of Korea in 1911, believed that he "could make a fair bid to see the sympathies of both sides : though I also think the extraordinary 'sensitiveness' of the Japanese officials and of our pro-Japanese friends at the (British) consulate would be quite as great a difficulty as the waywardness of the partisanship of the 'Corean' clergy"[16]. The sensitivity of Japanese officials was a serious problem, Trollope noted in 1912 that "one can't be too careful, when dealing with suspicious people like our 'little brown allies'"[17]. This made the English Church Mission's attempt to pursue a middle way between the extremes of pro-Korean and pro-Japanese sentiment all the more difficult for their position of neutrality could be misunderstood by both sides. As it was, Britain's special relationship with Japan as a result of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance tended to identify the English Church Mission with the Japanese. While the Canadian Presbyterians were also conscious of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, they were prepared to be critical of any Japanese action in Korea which they considered reflected badly on Britain's (or Canada's) honour as an ally of Japan. American Protestant missionaries, of course, were not inhibited by any special treaty relationship between their government and Japan. However, the United States like Britain was an imperial power and unbridled missionary criticism of Japan in Korea might evoke a Japanese response which questioned American colonial actions in the Philippines.

Between 1910 and 1919 relations between Protestant missionaries and the new Japanese Government-General deteriorated. The Japanese were not anti-Christian. Indeed the Government-General helped support financially the Korean mission of the Japan Kumiai Church[18]. However, the Christian Church in Korea was a national organization over which the Japanese did not have direct control. It was inevitable that friction should occur between the Christian movement in Korea and the Japanese colonial authorities. In late 1911 some 98 Korean Christians were arrested for allegedly taking part in a plot to

assassinate the Governor-General, Terauchi Masatake. Although the charges made against these Korean Christians were proven to be false in what came to be called the 'Conspiracy Case', it was clear that however unjustified the Japanese viewed Korean Christians with suspicion.[19]

The pace of the modernization of Korea undertaken by Japanese posed serious problems to the Protestant missionary movement. In the late 19th century Protestant missionaries had been the pioneers of western education and medicine in Korea. Mission schools and hospitals were operated on small budgets but the fact they were often of second rate quality was disguised because they were the first western schools or hospitals. After 1910 mission schools and hospitals faced severe competition from institutions founded by the Government-General. Furthermore, mission schools had to comply with regulations and standards set down by the Government-General. Mission schools often did not have the finances to meet these standards. In the first four years of the Government-General the number of mission schools declined from 746 to 473 schools.[20] Moreover, in 1915 the Government-General made clear its intention to prohibit religious teaching in schools. This would seriously undermine the important evangelistic role of mission schools in the development of the Christian movement in Korea.

Canadian Presbyterians recognized that to the Government-General the educational issue was of secondary importance to the attitude of missionaries in Korea toward Japanese rule.[21] In 1921 Sir Charles Eliot, the British Ambassador to Japan, writing about difficulties between missionaries and the Japanese over education in Korea, noted that one of the main difficulties was that young American and Canadian missionaries brought with them political ideas and sympathies which they unconsciously passed on to their pupils.[22] As a result of mission school education a type of Korean intensely distasteful to Japanese officials was being produced. The democratic ideas which American and Canadian missionary teachers were subconsciously passing on to their pupils ran counter to the aim of the Japanese administration in Korea, which was the assimilation of the

Korean population. Mission schools posed a serious threat to the success of Japanese colonial policy in Korea. Despite the repeated assurances by foreign missionaries that they were not anti-Japanese, it was from among the graduates of mission schools that many of the leading opponents of the Japanese came, and missionaries must take some responsibility for making them such.

Difficulties between North American missionaries and the Government-General in Korea came to a head with the March 1st Movement of 1919. Canadian Presbyterians were among the most active critics of the treatment of Koreans by the Japanese in the aftermath of the independence demonstrations. In early April 1919 A. E. Armstrong, the assistant mission secretary of the Canadian Presbyterian Church, who had been on a tour of the Far East, brought the first news from Korea to North America about Japanese reactions to the independence movement. It was felt by Armstrong and many foreign missionaries in Korea that it was only through publicity that justice could be secured for the Koreans. Armstrong himself wrote that "the cause of the poor defenceless Koreans is on my heart and conscience and I would be doing them a very great wrong if I did not do all in my power to help them secure those sweeping reforms which the World will demand as the right of all peoples henceforth"[23]. It is clear that the Canadian Presbyterians regarded the Japanese colonial administration in Korea as a "German Machine" which was independent of the civilian government in Japan[24]. It was obvious that Canadian Presbyterians considered themselves as the champions of democracy fighting against the evils of militarism. As a result of the First World War and the pronouncements of President Wilson, an idealistic element had been injected into missionary thinking which had been largely absent at the time of the annexation of Korea.

Armstrong saw the struggle fot justice for the Koreans as a humanitarian crusade and this was more important than any consideration about whether anti-Japanese publicity might adversely effect missionary work in Korea. So important to him was this humanitarian crusade that Armstrong hoped that an approach could be made to the

British and American governments to intercede and to have the Korean question brought before the Paris Peace Conference.[25] Yet at the same time Armstrong sincerely felt that Korea should still remain a colony of Japan.[26] He felt that the attainment of self-government by a colony was a privilege that had to be earned and proven before it could be bestowed. It was obvious that Armstrong wished the Japanese to adopt the same sort of policies for Korea as Britain utilized in the British Empire.[27]

In mid-April 1919 the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ's Commission on Relations with the Orient began to meet in New York to discuss the Korean situation. The Japanese Consul-General in New York agreed to raise the issue of Korea with the Japanese Government on the understanding that Armstrong's views on Korea should not be made public until the Japanese Government had time to reply to the Commission.[28] Yet before a reply could come details of Armstrong's opinions about Korea were somehow made public and published in the *New York Times*.[29] From that moment onwards the Japanese reaction to the Korean independence demonstrations was publicly known. Accounts other than Armstrong's of events in Korea began to appear in North American newspapers and Armstrong himself was under very great pressure to publish the increasing number of atrocity stories reaching him from Canadian Presbyterian missionaries in Korea.[30] It was in July 1919 that the Japanese Government made a reply to the Commission on Relations with the Orient in which Hara Kei, the Japanese prime minister, made it clear that the Japanese government was seriously investigating the charges of abuses committed by its agents in Korea and was endeavouring to formulate a comprehensive plan of reforms in the colonial administration in order to promote the lasting welfare of the Korean people.[31] The Commission on Relations with the Orient could not have hoped for a better response from the Japanese government.

Canadian Presbyterian missionaries in Korea itself also attempted on their own initiative to bring attention to the plight of the Koreans under the Japanese. Among them was Dr. Frank W. Schofield, a

Canadian Presbyterian doctor attached to the Severance Union Medical College in Seoul, one of the most hostile of all missionary critics of Japanese rule in Korea. Schofield made it a point to visit places where alleged Japanese atrocities had taken place and to photograph the victims. Schofield memorialized the British Foreign Office and interviewed leading Japanese officials both in Korea and in Japan about the atrocities committed by the Japanese. In Japan, Schofield even managed to obtain an interview with the prime minister.[32] Although Schofield was not the only Canadian Presbyterian to publicize Japanese atrocities, his zeal in doing so casts some doubt on whether his humanitarian concern for the conditions of Koreans was not also mixed with a personal desire to become well-known. In December 1919 Schofield in attacking the Japanese administration went as far as accusing them of attempting to syphilize the Koreans rather than civilizing them.[33]

Schofield and other Canadian Presbyterians missionaries had hoped that the British Foreign Office might as a result of learning about the atrocities committed by the Japanese in Korea make some representations to the Japanese Government. It was apparent, however, that the British Foreign Office considered that Japan was sovereign in Korea and could act as she pleased as the British could do in India or Ireland.[34] However, in July 1919 Lord Curzon, the British Foreign Secretary told the Japanese Ambassador in London, that "I had lying before me pages of evidence describing the most barbarous and revolting atrocities, the publication of which would produce a sensation in the civilized world and would rebound to the discredit of the Japanese Government".[35] He further added that "the persecution of the Koreans had assumed an anti-Christian form, and deeply affected all foreign nations whose subjects ware either resident or interested in that country".[36] Lord Curzon urged the Japanese to make liberal reforms in Korea. Beyond this, there was little that the British Foreign Office felt that it could do. The inability of Canadian Presbyterian missionaries to influence British Foreign policy toward the Japanese in Korea was in itself an example of the general lack of

influence missionaries had in changing official government policy.

In July 1919 the Canadian Presbyterian mission in Korea as a body petitioned the Governor-General, Hasegawa Yoshimichi, for redress of wrongs committed by the Japanese authorities.[37] It must be regarded as a courageous step for the Canadian Presbyterian mission to take for it might have brought reprisals against them. The Canadian Presbyterians made it clear that one reason they felt it necessary to bring the atrocities to the attention of the Governor-General was because these atrocities reflected on their honour as British subjects in special treaty relationships with Japan. It might be said that Canadian Presbyterians played an important role in bringing about the adoption of a new more tolerant policy toward Koreans by the Government-General of Korea. In August 1919 a new Governor-General, Admiral Saitō Makoto, was appointed with a mandate to make reforms in Korea.

The English Church Mission's reaction to the March lst Movement was different from that of the Canadian Presbyterians. It was not that the British Anglican missionaries did not feel sorry for Koreans who had been wounded in demonstrations against the Japanese. The British Anglican doctors treated Korean victims of Japanese brutality.[38] The ruthlessness of the Japanese in putting down independence demonstrations in towns where the English Church Mission worked did not go unnoticed.[39] It was apparent, however, that the British Anglican missionaries did not view the March lst Movement in the same light as the Canadian Presbyterians. The British Anglicans were more concerned with the disruption which the Korean agitation for independence might have on the normal working of the mission than in the political issues involved in the movement. In late 1919 one British Anglican missionary noted sarcastically that the most incredible stories had been circulated and believed, such, as that the United States had landed troops at Inchon, that the Japanese police stations were to be bombed and that President Wilson had arrived in person in Korea to conduct operations.[40] The English Church missionaries tended to down play the seriousness of the

independence movement.

In May 1919 Bishop Trollope, who was on furlough in England, was asked by the British Foreign Office to give his suggestions as to the best method of removing the main causes of Korean discontent with Japanese rule in Korea.[41] Trollope was asked to make constructive suggestions with rgference to reforms in Korea as distinct from mere criticism.[42] Trollope saw the real source of the troubles in Korea as being the Japanese policy of completely Japanising Korea. Other problems arose owing to the suppression of the Korean language, the use of Japanese language and legal procedure in the law courts, the lack of higher education opportunities for Koreans, the inability of Japanese officials to speak Korean and the displacement of Korean farmers due to the influx of Japanese immigrants to rural areas.[43] Trollope saw no reason why these problems could not be overcome and the Japanese become successful colonial rulers in Korea. In his analysis of the situation in Korea, Trollope did not allow his judgement to be influenced by his experiences of missionary work in the peninsula. This contrasted sharply with some of the Canadian Presbyterian missionaries, whose judgement on the situation was at times emotionally entangled with their missionary fervour.

While Trollope was prepared to give advice privately to the British Foreign Office, he adhered as policy for the English Church Mission that political activism was not a necessary part of the missionary's work. In early 1923 Trollope attacked the editor of the *Church Times* for publishing an editorial about supposed Japanese barbarities in Korea.[44] Trollope considered that the Japanese administration in Korea had taken to heart the representations made and the strictures passed on their handling of the 1919 troubles and the present regime under Admiral Saitō was of a mild and liberal type.[45] Furthermore he admired the patience of the Government-General in continuing to be liberal despite Korean terrorist acts, which included an assassination attempt on Admiral Saitō. Trollope and his British Anglican missionaries tried to be as fair as possible to the Japanese even

though this might show the Koreans in a bad light. The Canadian Presbyterians were consistently unable to see the Japanese point of view. In taking the Japanese point of view, the English Church Mission, however, undoubtedly impaired the growth of the Anglican Church in Korea because they did not come out in support of Korean nationalistic aspirations.

In October 1920 a Japanese Army punitive expedition of brigade strength invaded the Chientao region of Manchuria in reprisal for the killing of Japanese consular and civiliam personnel by Chinese brigands. The Chientao region was part of the field of the Canadian Presbyterian mission. It was not long before Canadian Presbyterian missionaries were publicizing in the international press that atrocities had been committed by the Japanese military against Korean Christians resident in this area of China. The Japanese military responded by publicly accusing the Canadian Presbyterians of fomenting anti Japanese feeling among the Korean population in the Chientao region.[46] This created a diplomatic incident as the accusation was against Canadian missionaries who were working not in Korea but in a part of China. As it turned out the Japanese charges were unfounded. However, it was also clear that many Koreans were using this area of Manchuria as a base for operations against the Japanese in Korea even though the Canadian Presbyterians insisted that this was not true.[47] To the Canadian Presbyterians it was obvious that one motive of the Japanese in invading the Chinetao region was to occupy this part of Manchuria permanently. However, the publicity that Canadian Presbyterian missionaries gave to the atrocities of the Japanese military must be regarded as one factor which prevented a permanent Japanese occupation from taking place.[48] The British Foreign Office was in little doubt, though, that the Japanese would not hesitate to occupy the Chientao district if a favourable opportunity arose. This in its turn would merely whet Japan's appetite for further conquests in Manchuria.[49]

The Chientao difficulties between the Canadian Presbyterians and the Japanese occurred at a time when the renewal of the Anglo-

Japanese Alliance was being debated. A. E. Armstrong, the assistant foreign mission secretary of the Canadian Presbyterian Church, wished that adequate guarantees of protection for Christians in Korea and Manchuria in order to ensure both that Korean Christians were not arbitrarily brutalized by Japanese troops and safeguard the right of missionaries to pursue their Christian work unhampered be included in any new Alliance.[50] D. M. McRae,a veteran Canadian Presbyterian missionary in Korea, considered that through the Anglo-Japanese Alliance Britain had forfeited her good name in order to satisfy the "prussianism" of Japan.[51] It is difficult to judge the influence of publicity of atrocity stories by Canadian Presbyterian missionaries on Canadian public opinion in regard to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance or toward Japan itself. However, within Canada itself there was considerable racist feeling against Japanese immigrants. The anti-Jpanese attitude of Canadian Presbyterian missionaries might well have increased these tensions.

"No neutrality for brutality" was the motto adopted by many Protestant missionaries in Korea at the time of the March lst Movement.[52] The Canadian Presbyterians certainly held this view. The March lst Movement took place at a time when the disillusionment at the inability of world governments to fulfil those democratic ideals for which the Allies had fought for in the First World War had not set in. The Canadian Presbyterians were influenced by the idealism that the war had engendered which the Paris Peace Conference held out the possibility of translating into a new world order. As a result of the First World War a change had taken place in Canadian missionary thinking which contrasts with their attitude of passive acceptance of Japanese colonial rule in 1910. Canadian response to the March lst Movement must also be viewed in the context of Japanese suspicions of the Korean Christian movement and missionary dislike of the Japanese. The March lst Movement followed crises between missionaries and the Government-General of Chōsen caused by the 'Conspiracy Case' and Japanese educational reforms. Just as the timing of the March Ist Movement

was most important in attracting world attention to it, so the previous crises between missionaries and the Government-General contributed to Canadian missionary willingness to withhold nothing about atrocities regardless of the consequences to their mission work in Korea. Canadian missionary response concerned atrocities and the nature of Japanese rule. Canadian missionaries were not advocates of Korean independence despite their antipathy toward the Japanese. In publicizing atrocities and the injustices of Japanese colonial rule in the international press, they strove to bring pressure on the Japanese Government to create a more liberal colonial policy. Indeed this publicity played a significant role in bringing about the reforms of the Saitō administration. It is unlikely without this international publicity whether the Government-General would have affected any reforms in Korea, for with the exception of a few such as Yoshino Sakuzō, Japanese public opinion supported its Government's policies in the peninsula.

The English Church Mission response was different. It remained publicly silent concerning atrocities,as did such a leading missionary figure such as James Scarth Gale. Bishop Trollope did realize the shortcomings of Japanese colonial policies in Korea and when asked was willing to give his opinions privately to the British Foreign Office. He was also prepared to accept the sincerity of the reforms undertaken by Admiral Saitō and commend the efforts of his administration. The English Church Mission attempted to see the points of view of both Koreans and Japanese. Trollope and his English Church missionaries were not as greatly influenced by the democratic idealism which emerged as a result of the First World War as Canadian missionaries. In his personal political views, Trollope, as a result of his experiences of working as a priest in the slums of East London before he became Anglican Bishop of Korea was inclined to socialism. Yet personal political views were subordinate to the task of Christian work. Trollope considered that political activism was not a necessary part of the work of a missionary. He was deeply concerned about the continuation of the Christian work of the

English Church Mission in Korea. This was of paramount importance. Furthermore, he was the head of the only Protestant Church in Korea which treated Koreans, Japanese and Europeans as equals within it. To criticize one side or the other at the time of the March 1st Movement could only cause difficulties within his own Church. However, the English Church Mission by attempting to maintain a middle way between Koreans and Japanese was in reality affirming the status quo in Korea. While this brought no embarrassment to Britain as Japan's ally, it brought no change in Japanese treatment of Koreans. The criticisms of Canadian Presbyterians and other North American missionaries did help bring change in Korea even though this was not ultimately beneficial to the Christian movement.

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3) Nym Wales and Kim San, *Song of Ariran : A Korean Communist in the Chinese Revolution*, San Francisco : Ramparts Press edition, 1973, p. 83.
4) See Frank Baldwin, "Missionaries and the March 1st Movement : Can Moral Men be Neutral", *Korea Under Japanese Colonial Rule : Studies of the Policy and Techniques of Japanese Colonialism* (edited by Andrew C. Nahm), Center for Korean Studies, Institute of International and Area Studies, West Michigan University, 1973, pp. 193-219.
5) Matsuo Takayoshi, "Yoshino Sakuzō to Chosen : san-ichi undō o chūshin ni", *Taishō Demokurashī* (edited by Yui Masaomi), Tokyo : Yuseido, 1977, pp. 242-264, p. 250,
6) Cyril H. Powles, "Victorian Missionaries in Meiji Japan : The Shiba Sect, 1873-1900", unpublished Ph. d. dissertation, University of British Columbia, 1968, p. 227.
7) Richard Rutt, *James Scarth Gale and His History of the Korean People*, Seoul : Royal Asiatic Society, Korean Branch, 1972.
8) Arthur Judson Brown, *The Mastery of the Far East : The Story of*

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9) Spencer J. Palmer, *Korea and Christianity : The Problem of Identification with Tradition*, Seoul : Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch, 1967, pp. 94-96.

10) See Kan Juon, *Chosen no jōi to kaika*, Tokyo : Heibonsha Senshō 51, pp. 270, 276-277.

11) H. Bonar to E. Grey, February 28th 1910, FO 410, volume 55, Public Record Office, London, England. In this letter Bonar relied heavily on James Scarth Gale's estimation of missionary attitudes.

12) Bishop H. H. Montgomery Papers, *Journal of Tour of the Far East 1911*, United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Archives, London, England. Hereafter cited (USPGA).

13) Boutflower Papers, Box 1, cycle-letter no. 14, October 23rd 1910 (USPGA).

14) Bishop H. H. Montgomery Papers, *Journal of Tour of the Far East 1911*, p. 120 (USPGA).

15) Bishop A. B. Turner, SPG Series D Korea 1909 (USPGA).

16) M. N. Trollope to H. H. Montgomery, April 10th 1911, SPG Series D Korea 1911 (USPGA).

17) M. N. Trollope to Mrs. L. Trollope, January 2nd 1912, Bishop Trollope Papers (USPGA).

18) Matsuo Takayoshi, "Nihon Kumiai Kirisuto Kyōkai no Chōsen dendō", *Shisō*, no. 7, 1968, pp. 1-17, pp. 7-13.

19) F. A. McKenzie, *Korea's Fight for Freedom*, London : Simpkin, Marshall and Co., 1920, pp. 220-236.

20) E. Patricia Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan, 1895-1945*, Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Press, 1977, p. 165.

21) A. E. Armstrong to T. D. Mansfield, May 5th 1916, PCC GA41 B6K Box 3 File May 1916 in United Church Archives, Victoria College, University of Toronto. Hereafter cited (UCCA).

22) C. Eliot to Lord Curzon, July 2nd 1921, FO 371/6586, China 1921 in Public Record Office, London, England.

23) A. E. Armstrong to J. R. Mott, April 9th 1919, PCC GA41 Box 4 File April 1919 (UCCA).

24) R. P. MacKay to N. W. Rowell, April 9th 1919, PCC GA41 Box 4 File April 1919 (UCCA).

25) A. E. Armstrong to J. R. Mott, April 9th 1919, loc. cit..

26) A. E. Armstrong to G. Paik, May 12th 1919, PCC GA41 B6K Box 4 File May 1919 (UCCA).

27) A. E. Armstrong to Takahashi Motoguchi, July 9th 1919, PCC GA41 B6K Box 4 File July 1919 (UCCA).

28) Frank Baldwin, "Missionaries and the March 1st", loc. cit., p. 204.

29) *New York Times*, April 23rd 1919.

30) A. E. Armstrong to W. Scott, May 16th 1919, PCC GA41 B6K Box 4 File May 1919 (UCCA).

31) Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 1868-1945. Micro. 11 MT 1. 5. 3. 14. 270. Reply to Commission on Relations with the Orient, no date.

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33) B. Alston to Lord Curzon, December 19th 1919, FO 371/3818/766, in Public Record Office, London, England.

34) C. H. Bentinck, minute June 14th 1920, FO 371/5352, in Public Record Office, London, England.

35) Lord Curzon to B. Alston, July 2nd 1919, FO 371/3818/109885, in Public Record Office, London, England.

36) Lord Curzon to B. Alston, July 2nd 1919, loc. cit..

37) William Scott, *Canadians in Korea : A Brief Historical Sketch of Canadian Mission Work in Korea*, Toronto : United Church of Canada, pp. 87-88.

38) The Morning Calm, XXXI, no. 162 (Jan. 1920), Dr. Laws, Chin Chun, pp. 7-8.

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41) M. Muller to M. N. Trollope, May 10th 1919, Bishop Trollope Papers (USPGA).

42) Ibid..

43) M. Muller to M. N. Trollope, May 10th 1919, loc. cit., Trollope's ideas were incorporated in M. Muller's Memorandum on Japanese Policy in Corea, July 5th 1919, FO 371/3818/766.

44) *Church Times*, May 26th 1923.

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46) *The Times* (London), December 7th 1920.

47) *Toronto Globe*, December 23rd 1920.

48) W. B. Cunningham to F. E. Wilkinson, June 7th 1921, FO 371/6586/F2770 in Public Record Office, London, England.

49) F. E. Wilkinson to B. Alston, June 8th 1921, FO 371/6586/F2770 enclosure no. 1, in Public Record Office, London, England.

50) A. E. Armstrong to W. Scott, December 7th 1920, PCC GA41 B6K Box 5 File December 1920 (UCCA).

51) D. M. McRae to A. E. Armstrong, December 24th 1920, PCC GA41 Box 5 File December 1920 (UCCA).

52) F. A. McKenzie, *Korea's Eight for Freedom*, op. cit., p. 310.